NOTES ON MOOD AND ASPECT IN SIMBO
(MANDEGHUSU, SOLOMON ISLANDS)

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1. INTRODUCTION[1]

The purpose of this paper is to present some data on the language usually known as Simbo, a largely undescribed Western Oceanic language spoken on the Solomon Islands island of Mandeghusu. The paper commences with a brief synchronic background of the language, covering clausal and verb phrase structure, topicalisation, and the extent to which elements of the clause structure may be seen as ergative. The body of the paper is then concerned with a description of the system of mood and aspect coded by the language within the verb complex, termed for the purposes of this paper the verb phrase. The modal coding takes the form of an auxiliary which marks agreement with a transitive actor or an intransitive subject, and which distinguishes realis and irrealis, making an additional distinction between definite and indefinite irrealis in first and second person marked categories. Aspect is marked in two positions, one immediately preceding the auxiliary which encodes prospective (at least), and one immediately following the auxiliary which encodes various aspects of the internal temporal structure of the event.

The island of Mandeghusu is located in the Western Province of the Solomon Islands, forming the south-westernmost extremity of the New Georgia group. Known as Mandeghusu, literally 'four districts', by its inhabitants, the island is known elsewhere as Simbo, a name more properly given to one of the eponymous districts, a small islet off the main island. In an earlier period of the colonial administration the island was also known as Eddystone Island.

Simbo is spoken by close to two thousand people, located primarily on Mandeghusu itself and in several villages on the south coast of the nearby island of Gizo. It is an Oceanic language of the North-West Solomonic family. Ross (1988:215-217) posits an ancestral Proto North-West Solomonic, breaking up into a number of lower-order protolanguages including the tentatively posited Proto New Georgia/Ysabel, ancestor of the Oceanic languages[2] of both the New Georgia group and neighbouring Santa Isabel.[3] This in turn is posited to have broken into a New Georgia chain and an Ysabel chain. On the basis of phonological and lexicostatistical data (Tryon & Hackman 1983; Ray 1926:562-566) and morphosyntactic comparisons (based on Dureau n.d.; Stubbs n.d.;

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[2] There are a number of non-Austronesian languages in the New Georgia group.

[3] While the language group has the island's old name *Ysabel*, the island is now officially known as *Santa Isabel*.

Grace 1955a, 1955b, 1955c; Corston 1993; Ross 1988) it appears likely that Simbo along with Lungga and Kumbokota (or Ghanongga), spoken on the island of Ranongga to the immediate north of Mandeghusu, were members of an immediate dialect chain in relatively recent times, suggesting that a language Proto Simbo/Ranongga occupied the western end of the New Georgia chain.

The present paper is based on data drawn from three sources: elicited material collected by the author on a preliminary visit to the field; elicited material gathered under the auspices of George Grace as part of his 1955 linguistic survey (Grace 1955a); and unelicited textual material collected by Christine Dureau.[4] The latter material was collected as part of an extended period of ethnographic field research conducted on Mandeghusu by Dureau between 1990 and 1992. The texts range from legends to accounts of events which took place and conditions which existed within the memory of the speaker. These Dureau texts provide a corpus of some eight hundred clauses, and being unelicited, comprised the data upon which the analysis contained in this paper is based. The elicited material was used as a supplementary source of data.

Examples given in the body of this paper are represented phonemically, the symbols used having their expected values, with the exceptions of /v/, which represents a voiced bilabial fricative; and all voiced stops, including the palatal affricate /j/, which are prenasalised.

In the discussion of synchronic background which follows, and throughout the present paper, the terms 'S' and 'subject' will be used to indicate the sole core argument of an intransitive verb; the terms 'A' and 'actor' will be used to indicate the core argument of a transitive verb which is performing the action encoded by the verb, whether or not that role is agentive; and the terms 'O' and 'object' will be used to refer to the core argument of a transitive verb which is not performing the action, whether or not that involves a patient role.

2. SYNCHRONIC BACKGROUND

2.1 CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The Simbo clause typically contains a modal auxiliary which agrees with the subject of an intransitive clause or the actor of a transitive clause. These auxiliaries are present in an overwhelming majority of clauses, and may be deleted only in specific circumstances. In addition, the verb of a transitive clause is marked for agreement with the transitive object. As a consequence, in normal discourse the unmarked declarative clause structure is simply VP, the arguments of the verb having been omitted if already established in the discourse:[5]

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4   I am extremely grateful to Christine Dureau for allowing me to publish excerpts from this material. The analysis is entirely mine, and I am solely responsible for any errors or omissions in either the data or the analysis.

5   Abbreviations used in examples throughout this paper are:

1, 2, 3, Ø	1st, 2nd, 3rd, zero person	EXC	exclusive (1PL)
AUX	modal auxiliary	EXCL	exclamation
BEN	benefactive	HAB	habitual aspect
CAUS	causative	INC	inclusive (1PL)
CONC	conceptual noun infix	IRR	irrealis
CUST	customary	LOC	locative preposition
D.IRR	definite irrealis	MUT	mutual
EMPH	emphatic	NEG	negative
ERG	ergative case marker	O	object

(1)   *Poi sa   teku-a   p-ia   na koburu, ko gi*
        then 3SG.RL.AUX take-3SG.O ERG-she the child   so 3SG.RL.AUX

        ven-ia.
        give-3SG.O
        Then she took the child and she gave it.

Note that (1) cannot mean 'She took the child and it gave her' as this would require an overt, topicalised reintroduction of *na koburu*.

The simple verb phrase only clause may be seen as unmarked in a discourse sense. However, it may be argued that this discourse unmarked structure does not equate to a syntactically unmarked structure. In terms of the location of core arguments in a clause, there is a distinction between a syntactically unmarked clause and a clause which is marked by the topicalisation or focus of one of the arguments, in which nevertheless all core arguments are present. The structure of such syntactically unmarked clauses is, in the case of transitive clauses, VAO, as in (2); and in the case of intransitive clauses, VS, as in (3), V in these formalisms representing a verb phrase.

(2)   *Sa   teku-a   tuyu   na tomate pora na   koburu.*
        3SG.RL.AUX take-3SG.O EMPH the ghost that the child
        That spirit took the child.

(3)   *Beto sa   uku na   rereko.*
        and 3SG.RL.AUX flee the female
        And the woman fled.

It is worth noting that because of the frequency of the omission of previously mentioned arguments, together with a tendency to topicalise or focus overtly realised arguments, this syntactically unmarked structure occurs infrequently in normal discourse.

2.2 TOPIC AND FOCUS

According to Ross (1988:228-229; 240-247) the languages of Maringe and Roviana, and by implication Simbo, are descended from a common ancestor (Proto New Georgia/Ysabel) which marked topic clause-finally. Synchronically Maringe, an Ysabel language, marks topic in both a clause-final and a clause-initial position. In contrast Roviana, a New Georgia language, synchronically marks topic in a clause-initial position. In his discussion Ross uses the term topic to mean any foregrounded argument, whether that argument is newly introduced, restated for emphasis, or reintroduced.

In Simbo, as in Roviana, topic occurs within the clause solely in an immediate preverbal position, by implication clause-initially unless a temporal locative occurs clause-initially, in which case the topic follows the locative and immediately precedes the verb. This clause-initial position may be filled either by a true topic, in the sense of a topicalised previously mentioned argument which is current in the discourse, or by a heavily foregrounded focussed new argument, which may be an intransitive subject, a transitive

PASS	passive	PROSP	prospective aspect
PERF	perfect aspect	QUANT	quantity
PL	plural	RED	reduplication
POSS	possessor marker	RL	realis
PROG	progressive aspect	SG	singular

actor, an object, or an oblique argument. Since this position is the locus equally of topicalised already established arguments, and of focussed newly introduced arguments, and only one argument may occur in this position, this paper will follow Ross and refer to the foregrounding position as topic position and any foregrounded argument as topic, whether in fact the argument is strictly speaking topic or focus. Consequently it may be said that the Simbo clause allows one only foregrounded argument, which occurs in an immediate preverbal position; and which may be an already established argument, as in (4), or a newly introduced subject (5a), actor (5b), object (5c) or oblique (5d).

(4).   *Eyo, gari*   *ton-ia*   *ria   na   rereko...*
         okay 3PL.RL.AUX lead-3SG.O they the female
         All the women would lead her...

         Eyo, soku-na   *na rereko gara*   *puta tavet-ia.*
         okay many-3SG.POSS the female 3PL.RL.AUX sleep make-3SG.O
         Many of the women would remain and sleep with her.

(5) a. **Ria pa Simbo**   *gara*   *yore   pa   Bilua.*
         they from Nusa.Simbo 3PL.RL.AUX descend LOC Vella.Lavella
         Everyone from Nusa Simbo is going down to Vella.

     b. *Lokana isa na tama-na*   *sa*   *doma-ia   na   melalu*
         when   he the father-3SG.POSS 3SG.RL.AUX see-3SG.O the infant

         piri.
         this
         Only then did the father see this child.

     c. **Na gua   koburu** *sa*   *yan-ia   tu   na   tomate!*
         the 1.POSS child   3SG.RL.AUX eat-3SG.O EMPH the ghost
         My child, the spirit has eaten it!

     d. **Na peso** *yu*   *ma-na*   *tabara-niyo.*
         the land EMPH 2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR pay-2.O
         My ground I will give you as my price.

On the basis of the above discussion, and following Ross's (1982, 1988) formalisms, the unmarked declarative clause structure may be said to be TVX where X represents either AO or S.

In addition to the clause-initial topic position illustrated in (4) and (5), Simbo demonstrates infrequent extra-clausal right-dislocated topicalisation, where an argument, apparently only an actor, may be realised sentence-finally outside the clause or clauses to which it applies. This involves the restatement of an already established argument for clarification, as in (6), or for emphasis, as in (7). As (7) indicates, this extra-clausal topic may represent the actor of a number of clauses, supporting the view that it is extra-clausal.

(6)   *Gara*   *ton-ia*   *na agelu*   *poi...*
        3PL.RL.AUX lead-3SG.O the woman.who.has.given.birth there
        They lead the woman who had just given birth...

        ...beto sa   *va-saye*   *na rayana   yaruba,* **isa na rereko**
        and   3SG.RL.AUX CAUS-ascend the barkcloth new   she the female

poi.
there
...and she brought up the new barkcloth, this woman.

(7) *Eyo ari karu tamaniana   pa   Tiro na   ŋoŋoja.*
okay they two married.couple LOC Tiro the selfish
Alright, the couple from Tiro were selfish.

Gari   ambu-a   na iso,   gari   ambu-a
3PL.RL.AUX catch.fish-3SG.O the bonito 3PL.RL.AUX catch.fish-3SG.O

na iyana, ari karu.
the fish   they two
They caught bonito, they caught fish, those two.

2.3 ERGATIVITY

Simbo displays only minor manifestations of morphosyntactic ergativity. The VP is accusative: modal auxiliaries agree with intransitive subjects and transitive actors, while the verb marks agreement with transitive objects only. In terms of the constituent structure of core arguments no claim may be made favouring an accusative or ergative analysis. With the exception of pronouns, noun phrases (NPs) are not marked for case. Consequently two analyses present themselves equally: it could be said the intransitive S is in the same (nominative) position as the transitive A (i.e. immediately following the VP). On the other hand it could be argued that the intransitive S is in the same (absolutive) position as the transitive O (i.e. unmarked—clause-finally).

While NPs are not case marked, there exists a set of pronouns which occur solely representing the actor of a transitive clause. These have the form of the unmarked pronouns with the addition of a prefix *p-* ~ *pa-*, with the exception of the alternation *isa* '3SG' and *p-ia* '3SG.ERG', where the medial consonant has syncopated historically (in line with other pronominal medial consonant syncope in the language).

(8) a. *Doma-ia p-ayo   isa pa   ɲoro.*
see-3SG.O ERG-you he LOC yesterday
You saw him yesterday.

b. *Doma-iyo p-ia   ona   ayo pa   ɲoro.*
see-2.O   ERG-he 3SG.POSS you LOC yesterday
He saw you yesterday.

c. *Doma-ia p-ia   isa pa   ɲoro.*
see-3SG.O ERG-he he LOC yesterday
He saw him yesterday.

There are no first or second person plural pronouns which mark ergativity, the unmarked forms occurring in either A or O position. In addition, unmarked pronouns often occur in place of the marked forms, the third person plural ergative form *pa-ria* occurring infrequently, the unmarked form *ria* commonly occurring in its place.

It is particularly noteworthy that pronominal transitive actors which have been topicalised do not carry this ergative case marking. Compare (9) with (8):

(9)   ***Ara*** *ma-na*   *pi-pito-nia*   *na   ve-vea-na*
        I   1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   RED-tell-3SG.O   the   RED-resemble-3SG.POSS

        na   boroyo.
        the   pig
        I'm going to tell the story of the pig.

The case-marked pronouns are found only in the untopicalised position immediately following the verb phrase. These forms may be seen as redundant, since word order distinguishes actor from object as readily with pronouns as it does with NPs. This is supported by the absence of ergatively-marked first and second person plural forms, and the free alternation of the unmarked forms with their ergative counterparts. This is also supported by the view of some speakers of the language that the case-marked pronominal forms are more formal and are not used very much any more, and that this is indicative of speakers not speaking the language properly enough (Dureau, pers.comm.).

These marked pronouns appear to be the only morphosyntactic ergativity present in the language. There is, for example, no equivalent to the absolutive NP-marking particle found in Roviana (Corston 1993).

2.4 VERB PHRASE STRUCTURE

Within the clause structure discussed above the verbal component of the clause is contained in a verb phrase, consisting of up to three verb roots and a number of verbal modifiers of mood and aspect. These modifiers include a modal auxiliary position and two aspect marker positions in the following configuration:

$$VP \rightarrow (ASP_1) \ (AUX) \ (ASP_2) \ V$$

In the above structure V represents one verb root, or two or three roots in a serialised construction.

A string of two or three verb roots may combine in a serial construction to realise a series of contiguous and consecutive events forming a single complex event. These events must share a single subject if intransitive, and a single actor if transitive. Serial verb constructions may consist of an intransitive verb followed by a transitive verb. Serial constructions which include a transitive verb mark object agreement only on the final verb, that agreement applying to all the transitive verbs in the clause. Object agreement suffixes may be seen as clitics marking the object of all transitive events coded in the clause.

(10) a.   *Gi*   *riu*   *kamu* *pa*   *na   lamana.*
           3SG.RL.AUX   depart   arrive   LOC   the   ocean
           He went until he arrived at the ocean.

     b.   *Beto gari*   *koi*   *vari-vose*   *kamu.*
           and   3PL.RL.AUX   sit.in.canoe   MUT-paddle   arrive
           And they got in their canoes and paddled until they arrived.

(11)   *...ba sa*   *kasi*   *va-kere-a*   *na   kota.*
           but   3SG.RL.AUX   dig.and.bury   CAUS-be.bad-3SG.O   the   area
           ...however, it spoiled the area with its digging of holes and covering with soil.

Serial verbs form an uninterrupted string, with the exception of a particle indicating a cause and effect relationship between the events referred to, in that the event of the first verb has occurred to enable the event of the following verb to take place:

(12)   *Gi*   *yore*   *mi*   *po-podo*   *pa*   *na*   *mumugu,*
       3SG.RL.AUX descend in.order.to RED-give.birth LOC the bush
       She went down to give birth in the bush,

       gi   *yore*   *po-podo*   *pora.*
       3SG.RL.AUX   descend RED-give.birth there
       she went down and gave birth there.

3. MODAL AUXILIARIES

Modal auxiliaries occur in the overwhelming majority of clauses in the available data, being omitted only in specific environments. The auxiliaries primarily code a distinction between realis and irrealis, with a further distinction being made between definite and indefinite irrealis in the first and second persons. This modal coding of the relative reality of events takes the place of explicit tense marking which appears to be entirely absent from the language. As indicated earlier, in addition to their modal function, the auxiliaries agree with the subject/actor of a clause. This agreement distinguishes first, second and third person, and a person category which includes non-existent or hypothetical arguments. The last two categories distinguish singular and plural subject/actors, while no number distinctions are made in first and second person. In addition there exists a modal category, represented in third person plural at least, which codes an event as customary behaviour.

3.1 AUXILIARIES AGREEING WITH FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SUBJECT/ACTORS

Auxiliaries agreeing with first and second person subject/actors distinguish three categories of reality: realis, indefinite irrealis and definite irrealis; however they do not distinguish subject/actor number. The first and second person realis markers *ge* and *gu* indicates equally singular or plural:

(13) a. *Ara* ***ge***   *nago yau.*
        I   1.RL.AUX seek you.PL
        I'm looking for all of you.

     b. *"Mu-ke*   *ŋoŋoja"* ***ge***   *yua gai*   *ke.*[6]
        2.IRR.AUX-NEG selfish 1.RL.AUX say we.EXC
        "Don't be selfish" we said.

(14) a. *Pa*   *vei*   ***gu***   *suvere vea*   *ayo?*
        LOC where 2.RL.AUX stay   resemble you.SG
        Where do you come from that you behave like this?

     b. *...bala* ***gu***   *ŋoŋoja yau*   *karu!*
        because 2.RL.AUX selfish you.PL two
        ...because you're selfish, the two of you!

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[6]   The precise function of the clause final form *ke* is not entirely clear at this stage. Since it is not relevant to the present discussion this form has been left unglossed for the purposes of the present paper.

As indicated earlier, first and second person subject/actor agreement distinguishes definite and indefinite irrealis. In this the indefinite forms *ma* and *mu* are the irrealis base forms for first and second person:

(15)   *Evaŋana, ara* **ma**   *riu.*
        alright   I   1.IRR.AUX   depart
        Very good, I will go.

(16) a.   *Mai   na   koburu   ko* **mu**   *ya-yani   ayo.*
           bring   the   child   so   2.IRR.AUX   RED-eat   you.SG
           Come give me the child so you can eat.

     b.   **Mu**   *va-layo-nia*   *kavuru.*
           2.IRR.AUX   CAUS-go-3SG.O   dust
           Make it dusty there.

Definite irrealis is marked by means of a suffix *-nV* on the auxiliary, where the vowel of the suffix assimilates to the vowel of the base form:[7]

(17)   *Gai*   **ma-na**   *paja*   *gatu;*
        we.EXC   1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   go.up.from.coast   first
        We will go up (to the village) first;

        ma-na   *paja*   *va-ŋoja-dia*   *na   tamatina*
        1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   go.up.from.coast   CAUS-feed-3PL.O   the   family

        na   p-in-ausu   *na   vea,*

        the   .-CONC-adopt   the   similar
        we'll go up and feed our families and animals and so on,

        beto   soni   **ma-na**   *mule   ke;*
        and   then   1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   return
        and then we'll return;

        ma-na   *kamu   yau   karu.*
        1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   arrive   you.PL   two
        we'll come to you two.

        yau   karu **mu-nu**   *suvere   miu   tuyu.*
        you.PL   two   2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   stay   2.POSS   EMPH
        You two remain.

(18)   *Ara* **ma-na**   *pi-pito-nia*   *na   ve-vea-na*   *na*
        I   1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   RED-tell-3SG.O   the   RED-resemble-3SG.POSS   the

        boroyo.
        pig
        I'm going to tell the story of the pig.

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7   Note in line 3 of (17) the infix *-in-*, glossed as CONC. This affix derives conceptual nouns from verbs or concrete nouns. In the example in (17) *p-in-ausu* 'adoptee' is derived from *pausu* 'adopt , in which the conceptual nature of the nominalised form is not entirely transparent. More typical examples include *r-in-iu* 'departure' derived from *riu* 'depart', *m-in-o* - 'sickness' from *mo* 'sick'. The affix has the effect of deriving an abstract noun from a concrete noun, as in *b-in-aŋara* 'chieftainship' from *baŋara* 'chief'.

(19)   *Ara ge   hiva-niyo ayo   **mu-nu**   soana layo pa*
        I   1.RL.AUX want-2.O you.SG 2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR walk   go   LOC

yijo.
Gizo
I want you to walk to Gizo.

In summary the modal auxiliaries which agree with first and second person
subject/actors are:

TABLE 1: 1SUBJ AND 2SUBJ AUXILIARIES

Subject Person	Realis	Indefinite Irrealis	Definite Irrealis
1	*ge*	*ma*	*ma-na*
2	*gu*	*mu*	*mu-nu*

3.2 AUXILIARIES AGREEING WITH THIRD PERSON SUBJECT/ACTORS

Unlike first and second person marked auxiliaries, auxiliaries which agree with third
person subject/actors distinguish singular and plural and, while demonstrating a realis and
irrealis distinction, do not distinguish definite and indefinite irrealis.

3.2.1 THIRD PERSON SINGULAR REALIS AUXILIARIES

There appears to be two alternative third person singular realis auxiliaries: *sa* and *gi*. In
texts describing real events *sa* is used almost exclusively:[8]

(20) a. *Eyo,* ***sa***   *sau   na savo.   Eyo, gari*
         okay 3SG.RL.AUX distant the birth.house okay 3PL.RL.AUX

ton-ia   pora ke,
lead-3SG.O   there
The birth house was far away. They would lead her there,

sa   *riu   mi   teku-koburu isa,* ***sa***
3SG.RL.AUX depart in.order.to take-child   she 3SG.RL.AUX

po-podo.
RED-give.birth
so she went and gave birth.

b. *Eyo soni* ***sa***   *kamu na totoso*
    okay then 3SG.RL.AUX arrive the time
    Then the time comes

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8   Note in line 2 of (20a) the verb *teku-koburu* 'give birth', literally 'take-child'. This form occurs frequently in place
    of the verb *po-podo* 'give birth'. This lexicalised noun incorporation occurs not infrequently in Simbo, deriving left
    headed endocentric compound verbs such as *kesa-vino* 'climb-small canarium nut' and *kija-pamu* 'pound-ritual
    pudding'.

ko **sa**   mate na tinoni **sa**   mo pini ke.
so 3SG.RL.AUX die the person 3SG.RL.AUX ill this
when the sick person dies.

However, in the texts available the auxiliary *gi* alternates with *sa.* This occurs occasionally in texts which recount actual remembered events, but occurs most frequently in legends. It is unlikely to be a marker of legendary past as firstly it would be a distinction made only in third person singular, and secondly because it alternates with *sa.* One legend has the *gi* form in the title:

(21)   *Totoso* **gi**   kamu ke-kenu na lape.
        time   3SG.RL.AUX arrive RED-first the megapode
        When the first megapode came.

However, the *sa* form is used exclusively throughout the text. In other legends only *gi* occurs. The *sa* form occurs in a number of environments in legends. It invariably occurs in reported speech:

(22) a. **Gi**   kokoba na kinoko...
        3SG.RL.AUX empty the village
        The village was empty...

        "Koi, **sa**   ivulu   na kinoko..." gari   yua.
        EXCL 3SG.RL.AUX deserted the village   3PL.RL.AUX say
        "Oh! The village is deserted..." they exclaimed.

   b. **Gi**   jola na boroyo poi ke.
        3SG.RL.AUX pass the pig   there
        The pig came past.

        "...Na boroyo ba **sa**   tuti gita" gari   yua.
        the   pig   but 3SG.RL.AUX follow we.INC 3PL.RL.AUX say
        "...The pig has followed us" they said.

The *sa* form invariably occurs in legends when the event is not within the temporal frame of the legend, for example in concluding remarks:

(23) a. **Sa**   yua na pi-pito-na,   beto **sa**   beto
        3SG.RL.AUX say the RED-tell-3SG.POSS and 3SG.RL.AUX finish

        yu.
        EMPH
        So goes the story, and it's finished.

   b. *Ko nara yu* **sa**   vea   na pi-pito papaka-na,
        so there EMPH 3SG.RL.AUX resemble the RED-tell short-3SG.POSS
        So that's the way of this short story,

        beto **sa**   beto yu.
        and 3SG.RL.AUX finish EMPH
        and now it's finished.

Aside from reported speech and sections of text outside the temporal frame of the narrative, the distribution of *sa* and *gi* is as follows. Of six legends, one uses *gi* exclusively, and one uses *sa* exclusively except for the title. Two texts use *sa* very occasionally: once and three times respectively. In the remaining two texts both occur at a ratio of about two

or three to one in favour of *gi*. Perhaps significantly both the latter stories start with almost exclusive occurrences of *gi*, the occurrences of *sa* increasing in frequency as the texts progress, until by the end *sa* has replaced *gi* as the most frequently used form. In the middle of each of these two texts there are passages where both occur with equal frequency, as in (24). No environmental distinction can be drawn on the basis of verb or subject/actor:

(24) a. *Eyo, soni **gi**   taloana pa   na popu na   tomate,*
okay then 3SG.RL.AUX abandon LOC the moon the ghost
Then the spirit left the moon,

　　　 sa   *lame, **gi***   *lame pea, **gi***   *voruŋu.*
3SG.RL.AUX come 3SG.RL.AUX come then 3SG.RL.AUX glow
and came, it came then, lighting the way.

　　b. *Ko **gi***   *yasa   votu   na boroyo,*
so 3SG.RL.AUX jump.about emerge the pig
Then the pig jumped out,

　　　 *ko **sa***   *oga   votu   tuyu pa   na ole pa   Bulolo,*
so 3SG.RL.AUX come.out emerge EMPH LOC the shore LOC Bulolo
and it went down to the shore at Bulolo,

　　　 *ko **sa***   *abutu babata   agagiri,*
so 3SG.RL.AUX run   coastline sharp.rocks
then it ran along the shore over the rock face,

　　　 *ko **gi***   *soana saye   pa   Nou.*
so 3SG.RL.AUX walk   ascend LOC Nou
so it walked up to Nou.

Note that in the second line of (24a) there are two consecutive clauses, each with the same verb and the same covert subject, with *sa* present in one and *gi* in the other.

It is possible to speculate that *gi* is an archaic form which has largely been replaced with *sa*, by an extension of the third person singular pronoun *isa*. The codified nature of legends may explain the *gi* form's frequent occurrence in legends. Its presence in the title alone in one instance may support that view. On the other hand the presence of a cognate auxiliary *za* in Kumbokota may suggest that the form was present in Proto Simbo/Ranongga. At this stage any explanation is conjectural.

3.2.2 THIRD PERSON PLURAL REALIS AUXILIARIES

The third person plural realis auxiliary poses unresolved problems of a different kind. Two forms, *gara* and *gari*, occur without any identifiable basis of distribution, beyond observing that *gari* is by far the more common. Both forms appear freely throughout all available texts, and both occur in the same phonological environments; in reported speech; with identical subjects/actors, as in (25); and with the same verbs, as in (26) and (27).

(25) a. *...pea **gara***   *saye,   **gari***   *iko-ia   na ona*
then 3PL.RL.AUX ascend 3PL.RL.AUX steal-3SG.O the 3SG.POSS

tabu-na   *na lape,*
sacred-3SG.POSS   the megapode
... so they went up, and they stole the altar of the megapode,

gara   *poyoso layere-nia pa na Nusa Simbo.*
3PL.RL.AUX carry   go-3SG.O   LOC the   island Simbo
and took it back to Nusa Simbo.

b.   *...ko gari*   *riu*   *gara*   *yolom-ia*   *ke...*
     so   3PL.RL.AUX   depart 3PL.RL.AUX put.from.sight-3SG.O
     ...so they went and buried her...

(26) a.   *Gari*   *kiu.*   *"Koi pora tu*   *na tama-gu"*
         3PL.RL.AUX weep EXCL there EMPH the father-1SG.POSS

gara   *yua.*
3PL.RL.AUX say
They wept. "Oh, there's our father!" they said.

b.   *"Ria pa Simbo*   *gara*   *yore*   *pa Bilua"*
      they from Nusa.Simbo 3PL.RL.AUX descend LOC Vella.Lavella

gari   *yua.*
3PL.RL.AUX say
"Everyone from Nusa Simbo is going down to Vella" they said.

(27) a.   *Eyo gari*   *ton-ia*   *ria na rereko.*
         okay 3PL.RL.AUX lead-3SG.O they the female
         So all the women would lead her.

b.   *Gara*   *ton-ia*   *na agelu*   *poi.*
         3PL.RL.AUX lead-3SG.O the woman.who.has.given.birth there
         They would lead the woman who has given birth there.

3.2.3 THIRD PERSON IRREALIS AUXILIARIES

As indicated earlier, third person makes no distinction between definite and indefinite irrealis, but does distinguish number in this category, with separate singular and plural forms, as in (28) and (29) respectively:

(28) a.   *Kea na boroyo tu*   *ai*   *riu.*
         EXCL the pig   EMPH 3SG.IRR.AUX depart
         Oh! The pig said it will go.

b.   *Pea gi*   *kamu na totoso ko ai*   *po-podo.*
         then 3SG.RL.AUX arrive the time   so 3SG.IRR.AUX RED-give.birth
         Then the time came when she was about to give birth.

c.   *Eyo, na tinoni sa*   *mati ba*   *pini, sa*   *getu*
         okay the person 3SG.RL.AUX like witchcraft this   3SG.RL.AUX happy

isa
s/he
So this witch person is happy

bala	kite	**ai**		mate	na	tinoni	sa		mo.
because	PROSP	3SG.IRR.AUX		die	the	person	3SG.RL.AUX		ill

because the sick person will soon be dead.

(29) a.

Gari		va-saye-dia		pa	na	toba	pa	na	bara
3PL.RL.AUX		CAUS-ascend-3PL.O		LOC	the	enclosure	LOC	the	fortress

They sent them up to the fort

ko	nia	**ani**		suvere	ria,	gari		yua.
so	there	3PL.IRR.AUX		stay	they	3PL.RL.AUX		say

where they were all to stay, they said.

b.

Ko	na	tinoni	**ani-ke**		saye	hoboria,
so	the	person	3PL.IRR.AUX-NEG		ascend	without.cause

So people wouldn't go up there without a good reason,

bala	**ani**		saye	hoboria	ke,
because	3PL.IRR.AUX		ascend	without.cause	

because if they went up without a reason,

ka-ki		y-in-ua		kite	**ani**		ta-evaŋa.
QUANT-some		.-CONC-say		PROSP	3PL.IRR.AUX		PASS-occur

things would happen.

Kite	**ani**		ta-teku,	babi	mo	poi	ke	kite
PROSP	3PL.IRR.AUX		PASS-take	or	sick	there		PROSP

ani		mate.
3PL.IRR.AUX		die

They would become possessed, or maybe sick so that they died.

3.3 CUSTOMARY BEHAVIOUR AUXILIARY

As indicated earlier, a further auxiliary category occurs occasionally, apparently indicating customary behaviour. Only one customary auxiliary, *pu*, has been found so far, always occurring in clauses with a third person plural subject/actor. As a consequence it is impossible to know at this stage whether this auxiliary has a single form which does not agree with the subject/actor of the clause, or whether the form found agrees with third person plural. As all other auxiliaries found agree with the subject/actor, the latter hypothesis is at this stage assumed to be correct and the form has been glossed accordingly. It is clear that *pu* is not in fact an aspect marker occurring in clauses which happen not to have an auxiliary since it takes the verbal negation suffix *-ke* found elsewhere on attestable auxiliaries.

(30) a.

"Piri	*ria*	*ari*	*karu*	*ŋoŋoja*	*kokolo"*	**pu**		*yila*	*yua*	*ria.*
this	they	they two	selfish	EXCL	3PL.CUST.AUX		HAB	say	they

"My goodness, this shows those two are selfish!" they would all say.

b.

Nia	*gari*		*nonoyas-ia*	*ria*	*pa*	*Duke...*
there	3PL.RL.AUX		know-3SG.O	they	LOC	Duke

There they all know, the people of Duke (Kolombangara)...

> na boroyo **pu**-ke   gogono, ba sa   gogono.
> the pig   3PL.CUST.AUX-NEG talk   but 3SG.RL.AUX talk
> that pigs cannot talk, but it talked.

The apparent discrepancy between third singular and third plural in the second line of (30b) is discourse motivated: the story is of a pig which spoke, (30b) drawing attention to the discrepancy between characteristics attributed to pigs generally, and a characteristic of this specific pig.

3.4 HYPOTHETICAL SUBJECT/ACTOR AUXILIARIES

In addition to the subject/actor categories discussed above, there exists a set of two auxiliaries which mark a subject/actor category not satisfied by the auxiliaries discussed so far. This auxiliary category, which distinguishes singular (*bi*) and plural (*ori*), occurs in clauses where the subject/actor is either *kapore* 'no-one' or 'nothing', as in (31) and (32), or is a hypothetical person or persons, as in (33). It is significant that in every clause in the data where the subject/actor is *kapore*, the auxiliary is *bi* or *ori*. Two possibilities exist regarding the person status of these auxiliaries. They may represent a subject/actor which is strictly third person, in which *kapore* in (31) and (32) and the hypothetical participant in (33) refer to any possible participant except the speaker and the addressee; or it may represent a subject/actor which is underspecified for person, that is to say that the subject/actor could be any participant including the speaker and the addressee, where in (31) and (32) no-one including the speaker and the addressee performed the action, and in (33) a hypothetical participant who could be the speaker, or the addressee, or someone else, could perform the action. It is not clear from the data available which hypothesis is correct; however, it is clear that the distinction is one of at least the nature of the subject/actor person: the participant is either non-existent or hypothetical.

Since the distinction made by these auxiliaries is fundamentally one of person, the forms are glossed for the purposes of this paper as zero person (Ø). This is not meant to imply that the auxiliary indicates that no argument fills the function of A or S. Instead it is meant to indicate that there is an A or S argument, and that that argument is a member of a specific argument person category containing hypothetical or non-existent participants. The distinction represented by Ø is between the unambiguous person categories of first, second and third person, and this additional hypothetical and non-existent participant person category.

(31) a. ...*ko kapore   na tinoni nago-dia,   kapore na tinoni **bi***
        so   no-one   the person seek-3PL.O no-one the person ØSG.AUX

   gogono-dia ke.
   talk-3PL.O
   ...and there was no-one there to look after them and keep them company.

   b. *Kapore kame koburu kame rereko **bi**   suvere jola pora ke.*
        no-one one   child   one   female ØSG.AUX stay   pass there
        Not one child or woman was staying behind.

(32) a. *Kapore **ori**   layo pa   na dia   vona so-soto.*
        no-one ØPL.AUX go   LOC the 3PL.POSS house RED-true
        No-one went to their real houses.

b. *Na agelu*   *poi kapore* **ori**   *lame*
the woman.who.has.given.birth there no-one ØPL.AUX come
None of the women then came

pa na dia   vona so-soto.
LOC the 3PL.POSS house RED-true
to their real houses.

(33) *Bi kame tinoni ko* **bi**   *riu   nago-dia*
if   one   person so ØSG.AUX depart seek-3PL.O
If one person could go and seek them all

ko **bi**   *va-noŋoro-dia   ko gari   mule gala.*
so ØSG.AUX CAUS-hear-3PL.O so 3PL.RL.AUX return first
in order to tell them all, so that they can return here.

While distinguishing singular from plural in subject/actor agreement, these zero person auxiliaries do not appear to distinguish realis from irrealis. In (31) and (32) the event is real. The clause is structured exactly as it would be if there was an overt subject/actor, but with the auxiliary agreeing with the view that the participant who performed the action was 'no-one'. If an overt participant was represented instead, for example *na tinoni* 'the person', the auxiliary would be realis. By contrast, (33) is an irrealis clause, the events of 'going', and 'seeking', and 'telling' are deictically unreal, and would be represented by irrealis auxiliaries if the subject/actor was not hypothetical, but, for example, second person in an imperative construction.

It is suggestive, and interesting to note, that in (33) the clause commences with the form *bi*, which is translated by speakers as 'if'. This has the same form as the singular hypothetical subject/actor auxiliary and appears to introduce clauses referring to a hypothetical event. By contrast the form *vea* 'if' is used to introduce conditional clauses. This *vea* has itself the same form as the verb *vea* 'resemble'.

In summary the modal auxiliaries which agree with third or zero person subject/actors are:

TABLE 2: 3SUBJ AND ØSUBJ AUXILIARIES

	3 Subject Realis	3 Subject Irrealis	Customary	Ø Person Subject
SG	*gi/sa*	*ai*		*bi*
PL	*gari/gara*	*ani*	*pu*	*ori*

3.5 NEGATION

As indicated earlier, negation of an event is marked by the suffix *-ke* on the modal auxiliary:

(34) a. *Gai*   **ge-ke**   *hiva-niyo ayo.*
we.EXC 1.RL.AUX-NEG want-2.O you.SG
We don't want you.

b. *Nara* **mu-ke**   *vea*   *ayo.*
   there 2.IRR.AUX-NEG resemble you.SG
   Don't you be like that.

c. *...sa-ke*   *boka*   *paja*   *hoboria*   *na* *tinoni.*
   3SG.RL.AUX-NEG be.able go.up.from.coast without.cause the person
   ... a person could not go up without a good reason.

d. *Gari-ke*   *yaro.*
   3PL.RL.AUX-NEG scratch
   They weren't good enough. (lit. They didn't scratch.)

e. *Ko* *na* *tinoni* **ani-ke**   *saye*   *hoboria.*
   so   the person 3PL.IRR.AUX-NEG ascend without.cause
   So people wouldn't go up there without a good reason.

f. *...ko* *ria* *pa*   *Ove* **pu-ke**   *ŋoŋoja.*
   so   they LOC Ove 3PL.CUST.AUX-NEG selfish
   ...so those of Ove are never selfish.

3.6 CONSTRUCTIONS WITH NO AUXILIARY

There are a number of environments in which a clause may contain no auxiliary. These include clauses in which an overt temporal locative is expressed, and which would have a realis auxiliary if an auxiliary was present. This is illustrated by (8) above. Other environments in which a clause may contain no auxiliary include a number of serialised clause constructions, imperative and hortative constructions, and verb phrases with certain aspectual particles.

3.6.1 SERIALISED NON-AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS

Serialised event constructions can occur without an auxiliary in clauses other than sentence-initial clauses where the serialised structure repeats the description of a single event:

(35) a. *Eyo* **gari**   **kamu** *ria* *pa*   *Duke* *ria* *tuyu*   *na* *bubutu*
        okay 3PL.RL.AUX arrive they LOC Duke they EMPH the lineage

        Katapana,
        Katapana
        Ok, they came, all the people of Duke (Kolombangara) who also belonged to the Katapana lineage,

        kamu *ria*   *na* *bubutu* *pori* *ke.*
        arrive they the lineage there
        they arrived, all of the lineage.

     b. **Gara**   **ton-ia**   *na* *agelu*   *poi,*
        3PL.RL.AUX lead-3SG.O the woman.who.has.given.birth there
        They would lead the woman who had given birth there,

> ton-ia   pa   na   ivere   nia.
> lead-3SG.O   LOC   the   sea   there
> they would lead her down to the sea.

Serialised events may occasionally also be realised by a series of clauses, only the first of which contains an auxiliary. This apparently occurs where a series of events may be seen as component events within the framework of a larger complex event:

(36)   **Gari**   **teku-koburu** *poi ke,*
        3PL.RL.AUX take-child   there
        They gave birth there,

        layo tu   *pa*   *na kame vona*   *mule*   *na marane* **tori**
        go   EMPH   LOC   the   one   house   another   the   male   PERF

        tavet-ia   *tu,*
        make-3SG.O   EMPH
        and then they would move to another house which the men had already made,

        suvere mule *beto* **layo mule** *pa*   *na*   *yoto*   *vona.*
        stay   return   and   go   return   LOC   the   individual   house
        and they would stay a little while and move on again to a different house.

3.6.2 IMPERATIVE AND HORTATIVE

There is no overt imperative marking, imperative constructions consisting of an ordinary declarative sentence with an optional overt subject/actor and an irrealis auxiliary which may be either definite, as in (37), or indefinite, as in (38), and which is also optional:

(37)   *yau*   *tinoni Solomon*   *kolepiri* **mu-nu**   *mule!*
        you.PL   person   Solomon.Islands   now   2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR   return
        You Solomon Islanders go back now!

(38) a.   **Mu**   **tavet-ia**   *na mua*   *pou!*
        2.IRR.AUX make-3SG.O   the   2.POSS   hole
        You make your holes!

     b.   **Mu-ke**   **ŋoŋoja!**
        2.IRR.AUX-NEG   selfish
        Don't be selfish!

Imperative clauses which are identical except for the omissions of the auxiliary occur with equal frequency. Compare (39) with (40):

(39)   **Mu**   *riu!*
        2.IRR.AUX depart
        Go away!

(40) a.   **Riu!**
        depart
        Go away!

     b.   **Atu-a**   *buyirio,*   **ta-levara**   *yau!*
        move.away-3SG.O   fishing.spear   PASS-be.open   you.PL
        Watch out for the fishing spear, stand clear all of you!

This applies equally to first person inclusive subject/actors:

    (41)   *Koi,* **atu**   *ko* *ta-mule!*
                 EXCL move.away so PASS-return
                 Alright, let's go back!

Hortative clauses, which are simply imperative clauses with the added presence of the English or Pijin loan word *pelisi* in clause-initial position, may also occur without an auxiliary. Compare (42) with (43):

    (42)   *Pelisi* **mu**   *soana layo vilu* *pa*   *yijo.*
                 please 2.IRR.AUX walk go   BEN LOC Gizo
                 Please walk to Gizo for me.

    (43)   *Pelisi* **togo.**
                 please sit
                 Please sit down.

4. ASPECT

Aspectual particles occur in two possible clause positions, one immediately preceding the auxiliary position, and one immediately following the auxiliary position and preceding the main verb or verbs. These positions will be represented as ASP_1 and ASP_2. respectively. In ASP_1 position one aspectual category, prospective, has been identified. In ASP_2 position three aspectual categories have been identified: progressive, habitual and perfect.

4.1 ASP₁ POSITION: PROSPECTIVE

The prospective particle *kite* represents the only aspectual category definitely identified at this stage as occurring in ASP₁ position. It is possible a number of other categories are represented infrequently in this clause position. The prospective marker indicates that the event described by the verb or verbs is already on its way, that it will happen because the process which will bring it about is already underway. In all occurrences found *kite* occurs with an auxiliary, and so appears to obligatorily require an auxiliary:

    (44)   *Eyo, sa*   *pudiki-dia*   *na* *tomate pini na pe-penu*
                 okay 3SG.RL.AUX gather-3PL.O the ghost this the RED-remnants
                 Alright, this ghost collects all the leavings

                 pa *na* *ka-sia*   *takamana* *ta-di*   *ria* *na* *tinoni ke,*
                 LOC the QUANT-nine doorway POSS-3PL.POSS they the person
                 from around the doorways of all the people,

                 pea *kame tinoni tuyu* **kite**   *sa*   *mo,*
                 then one   person EMPH PROSP 3SG.RL.AUX sick
                 and so someone will become sick,

                 kite   *sa*   *podalai vitiyi yu*   *na tia-na.*
                 PROSP 3SG.RL.AUX begin   pain EMPH the stomach-3SG.POSS
                 their stomach will start to ache.

(45) a. *"Kite ma-na mate dapu tu gita" gari yua.*
     PROSP 1.IRR.AUX-D.IRR die all EMPH we.INC 3PL.RL.AUX say
     "We are all going to die" they said.

    b. *Ayo mu-nu soana layo pa yijo*
     you.SG 2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR walk go LOC Gizo

     kite mu-nu maŋini-gu.
     PROSP 2.IRR.AUX-D.IRR hot-2.POSS
     If you walk to Gizo you will get hot.

In (44) it is the actions of the witch that will bring about the described effects. In (45a) the speakers of the reported speech have seen a group of head hunters on their way to kill them. Note that in (44) the auxiliary used is realis, while in (45) definite irrealis auxiliaries occur. The prospective particle occurs freely with either category of auxiliary.

4.2 ASP$_2$ POSITION

Three aspectual categories have been identified at this stage in ASP$_2$ position, though others may also occur infrequently.

4.2.1 PROGRESSIVE

The progressive aspect particle *korapa* actually functions as a spatial or temporal locative assigning a contemporaneous or contiguous character to an event or argument. It may occur within either a VP or an NP. In either it may indicate temporal or spatial location. In the ASP$_2$ position within the VP it indicates progressive aspect. In this construction an auxiliary co-occurs if it is irrealis, but this co-occurrence is optional if the auxiliary would be realis. Compare (46) and (47):

(46) a. **Gari** **korapa** *suvere dia ria na tinoni.*
     3PL.RL.AUX PROG stay 3PL.POSS they the person
     All the people were staying there.

    b. *Eyo, na ba pini, totoso **ai** **korapa** peka isa...*
     okay the witch this time 3SG.IRR.AUX PROG dance s/he
     Alright, this witch, when it's dancing...

(47) a. *Ba na boroyo **korapa** pepu ona tuyu pa na toba.*
     but the pig PROG lie 3SG.POSS EMPH LOC the enclosure
     But the pig remained, lying in its pen.

    b. **Korapa** *oy-oyono dia karu tuyele pa Ove pa Loloyasa.*
     PROG RED-bathe 3PL.POSS two prostitutes LOC Ove LOC Lologasa
     There were two prostitutes bathing there at Lologasa at Ove.

The form *korapa* may occur elsewhere in the verb phrase with a spatial rather than temporal locative sense:

(48) *Na miu minate na bubutu gari kamu **korapa** pa*
     the 2.POSS group the lineage 3PL.RL.AUX arrive be.amidst LOC

na kinoko.
the village
Your group, the lineage, they've arrived and are in the village.

It is unclear at this stage whether in (48) *korapa* is functioning as a main verb or as some kind of an adverb (adverbs occur VP-finally). That question aside, it appears that if *korapa* occurs immediately following the auxiliary it indicates temporal location while if it occurs VP-finally it indicates spatial location. As mentioned earlier, *korapa* also occurs in an NP, where it may indicate either temporal or spatial location according to the semantics of the noun it modifies:

(49) a. *Pa na **korapa-na**   na s-in-uvere   pa Buganvilie...*

       LOC the midst-3SG.POSS the .-CONC-stay LOC Bougainville
       During his stay on Bougainville...

  b. *Gari   yila saye pa na **korapa-na**   na keru pini.*
       3PL.RL.AUX HAB ascend LOC the midst-3SG.POSS the cave this
       They would always go up into this cave.

  c. *Pa na **korapa-na**   na gua   r-in-iu   ara ke.*

       LOC the midst-3SG.POSS the 1.POSS .-CONC-depart I
       I'm leaving now. (lit. I am in the midst of my departure.)

4.2.2 HABITUAL

The particle *yila* marks habitual aspect. Like *korapa*, this form may also occur elsewhere in the verb phrase, in this case as a causative marked main verb with a related meaning. This verbal form may also occur as a nominalisation. In its aspectual function the form always co-occurs with an auxiliary:

(50) a. *Gari   yila olaŋa.*
       3PL.RL.AUX HAB call.out
       They would call out.

  b. *Isa na ba   tomate sa   **yila** pudiki pe-penu   doru*
       it the witch ghost 3SG.RL.AUX HAB gather RED-remnants all

     kota.
     place
     It's a ghost witch which characteristically collects leavings from every place.

  c. *Sa   ven-ia   p-ia   na tinoni sa   **yila***
       3SG.RL.AUX give-3SG.O ERG-it the person 3SG.RL.AUX HAB

     vari-salaŋa pinira.
     MUT-cure this
     It gives it to the person who always cures.

  d. *"Totoso sa   lodu-nia" gari   **yila** yua ria na*
       time   3SG.RL.AUX *lodu*-3SG.O 3PL.RL.AUX HAB say they the

> tinoni   kame rane.
> person one   day
> 'Counting the Days of the Dead' everyone used to call it in the old days.

In its verbal form *yila* occurs with the causative prefix and has the sense of being brought to a normal state of mind:

(51)   *Pea   sa   **ta-va-yila**   sa.*
        then 3SG.RL.AUX PASS-CAUS-habitual s/he
        Then he or she is brought to his/her senses.

As a nominalisation the root occurs with reduplication and the causative prefix, and marked with the conceptual infix, as in (52). This nominalised form appears to indicate a typical characteristic:

(52)   *Eyo, sa pora ke, na   **v-in-a-yi-yila**   lokana*

        Ok,   it that   the .-CONC-CAUS-RED-habitual when
        Alright, that was it, usually then

        gari   doma-i   ria pa   Rauru   sa na balaŋa-di
        3PL.RL.AUX see-3SG.O they LOC Choiseul it   the footprint-3PL.POSS

        na tinoni
        the person
        those on Choiseul would see people's footsteps.

4.2.3 PERFECT

The particle *tori* indicates that the event took place at a time prior to the time referred to by the clause, roughly corresponding to the English *had*. Perfect occurs freely with an auxiliary, as in (53), or without, as in (54):

(53)   *Eyo, doru rereko gara   **tori**   doma tu,*
        okay all   female 3PL.RL.AUX PERF see   EMPH
        Ok, the women had already looked,

        *gara   **tori**   doma-dia tu,   gara   soana,*
        3PL.RL.AUX PERF see-3PL.O EMPH 3PL.RL.AUX walk

        gara   saye.
        3PL.RL.AUX ascend
        they had seen them as they walked, as they went up.

(54) a. *Pea   na marane **tori** tavete-ia   tu   kame kale-na.*
          then the male   PERF make-3SG.O EMPH one   side-3SG.POSS
          The men had already built a house to one side.

    b. *Gari   teku-koburu poi ke, layo tu   pa   na kame vona*
          3PL.RL.AUX take-child   there   go   EMPH LOC the one   house

          mule
          another
          They gave birth there, and then they would move to another house

> na marane **tori** tavet-ia   tu.
> the male   PERF make-3SG.O EMPH
> which the men had already made.

The perfect frequently occurs with the emphatic *tu* in VP-final position.

The aspectual categories identified in ASP_2 position do not co-occur, and form a natural class of categories which realise the internal temporal structure of the event, in contrast with the prospective in ASP_1 position, which realises a relationship between the event and its cause. In all instances the prospective co-occurs with an auxiliary. Of the ASP_2 particles, both the progressive and the perfect particles may occur without the co-occurrence of an auxiliary, providing the omitted auxiliary would be realis. In the data the habitual particle always co-occurs with an auxiliary. Since this may be an accidental fact about the data, it is not possible at this stage to say whether auxiliary omission is also possible with the habitual. It is interesting to note that the omission of realis auxiliaries in clauses containing certain aspectual particles parallels the omission of realis auxiliaries in clauses containing overt temporal locatives as discussed in §3.6.

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